

*The* ROYAL MARTYR *and the*  
*Dutiful Subject, in Two Sermons.*

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THE

69.9.8.4

# Royal Martyr

Lamented, in a

## SERMON

PREACHED AT THE

S A V O Y,

O N

King CHARLES the MARTYR's

Day, 1675.

By GILBERT BURNET, D.D.

Now Lord Bishop of Salisbury.

LONDON, Reprinted by *W. Redmayne* for *J. Meredith*,  
are to be Sold by *S. Keble* at the *Turk's-Head* in *Fleet-*  
*street*, and *J. Morphew* near *Stationer's-Hall*, 1719.

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Time to go. I bid you

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".



# THE ROYAL MARTYR

Lamented, in 2

## SERMON

Preached at the

Savoy, on King CHARLES the MARTYR's Day, 1674.

2 Sam. II. 12.

*And they mourned and wept, and fasted until even for Saul and for Jonathan his Son, and for the People of the Lord, and for the House of Israel, because they were fallen by the sword.*

**T**HERE is no Maxim so general, or so constant, but that it may allow of some exception; and therefore tho' the wise Man after all his experience, his most searching Observations, and the great prospect he had of the order of second Causes, and the temper of Mens minds, does pronounce, *there was nothing new under the Sun*: Yet this Day, and that never-enough-lamented Villainy we now remember, must put in for an exception from that Rule, which did indeed exceed all the common measures of wickedness so far; that as there is nothing in any History like it, so when the World is some Ages older (if such an action be not an *Omen* that its end is near) this will scarce gain credit, but be looked on as the Tragical contrivance of some deeply Melancholy Wit. Some Princes have been by their prevailing Conquerors put to Death, others have been assassinated by their own Subjects: But to see a Sovereign Prince brought to the Pageantry of a Mock-trial, and by a Court made up of his own Subjects on a pretence of Justice, sentenced to lose his Life; not in the corner of some private Prison, but in the chief City of his

his Dominions, and in the most eminent place of it, is an evidence of the degeneracy of the Age we live in, that would dare to act what in former Ages none would have thought on.

What *Phocas* did to the Emperor *Mauritius* is the nearest parallel to it which History offers, but comes far short of matching it; for neither were the Rights of the Roman Emperors derived by so clear a Title, nor so long a Descent as our *Royal Martyr's* were; and so no wonder if those who rose by the Sword did also fall by it. Nor did *Phocas* so far affront Justice as to pretend to put his Master to a Trial, and *Mauritius* had by so base an avarice exposed so many of his Soldiers to be cut off, and used the rest so ill, that no wonder they in their fury against him were guilty of so foul a Conspiracy. But how much more exquisitely wicked was the Crime we now remember, when a Prince (whose Rights were devolved on him, by so many Titles, the *British*, the *Saxon*, the *Norman*, and the *Scotish* Races, having all united in him; who had also in his whole Government shewed that deep sense of Religion with a most tender regard to the good and quiet of his Subjects) was against all the Rules of Justice, and yet upon some colours of it, brought to so publick a Death. But as *Phocas*, as basely treacherous and wicked as he was, was most ignominiously and shamefully courted by Pope *Gregory* the Great, who writes to him in a stile of so mean and servile flattery, that it justly stains all the other good Qualities of that Prelate. And his Successor *Boniface* did yet more meanly comply, and got himself declared by him the Universal Bishop of the Church. From which we may judge of that See, by what arts they are resolved to rise, and to make use of the worst of Men if they can but serve their turn. So in this Regicide, Religion was vouched, and God appealed to. And indeed it was no wonder that these treated his Vicegerents so coarsely, that made so bold with God himself, as to pretend he was their Patron and Warrant in what they did. And perhaps if these Actors had as fully complied with him that pretend to be Christ's Vicegerent, as *Phocas* did, he had as plainly justified their actions, as *Gregory* and *Boniface* did, which might have been far

far rather looked for now, after all the Opinions some of their Emissaries have broached, of murdering Princes than at that time when their corruptions were but a forming, and their Ambition was beginning to fly at Supremacy and Universal Jurisdiction.

But is all our Work only to reflect with some horror on this infamous Action? Have we no other concern in this Day? The Collect tells us, *That the sins of this Nation have been the cause which hath brought this heavy judgment upon us.* We also pray, *That this our Land be freed from the vengeance of his Blood.* And indeed had not our Sins been great, so that the cup of our iniquities was quite full, it could not have run over in a tract of a long Civil War, which brought along with it so much blood-shed, rapine and contempt of all things sacred and human; and all was completed in this crime, beyond which Wickedness could go no higher. Those who were so nobly and generously Loyal as to serve his late Majesty of most blessed Memory, do with a just glorying rejoyce in the reflection on their past Services; yet let me crave leave to offer even to them how far they ought to be concerned in mourning and fasting on this occasion. It was our contempt of God and Religion, our being purely formal in our religious Worship, our forgetting to acknowledge God the Author of our Peace and Plenty, our abusing these by excess and riot, that brought on those sad and unheard of Judgments. Among the much abused words of the late time were Incendiary and Incendiarism; but those were the great Incendiaries that kindled God's Wrath, and it is from such that we may justly fear the like, or rather severer Judgments, if our Sins now be greater than they were then. Therefore the lamenting and repenting of these Sins, by which what is past may be forgiven, and what may be feared be prevented, being the proper Work of this Day; I come now to consider my Text, and what reflections may be drawn from it, tho' in a case so much without a precedent as this is, it is not to be imagined that a Text wholly pertinent can be pickt up. But we shall make the most of this we can, and consider three things in it.

First,



First, This King, whose Death was so much lamented, and in what particulars he was a Parallel, and in what not, of our Royal Martyr.

Secondly, What reason *David* with the rest of the People of *Israel* had to mourn for his Death, and how far that agrees with our case.

Thirdly, How they expressed their sorrow, and how far their example calls on us to imitate it.

For the first, it was *Saul* the Son of *Kish*, whom God had by the Hands of *Samuel* designed to be King of *Israel*, for whom *David* had that respect, that even when he was most unjustly hunting his Life, yet he would not stretch forth his hand against him, seeing he was *the anointed of the Lord*. And in this our Royal Martyr was his Parallel, since he was, by a tract of an undisputed Succession, that which *Saul* was by immediate Revelation, *the Lord's Anointed*. And indeed he looked on himself as having his Authority from God, as will appear from the following instances, (which before I mention I must preface with this) that I will not enlarge on the whole Field of that Murdered Prince's Virtues; for that were both endless, they being so many, and needless, they being so well known: But having by a great happiness seen not a few (I may add hundreds of) Papers under his own Royal Pen; I shall only now offer divers Passages drawn out of those that will give some Characters of his great Soul. And as in the *Indies*, the Art of Painting, is only the putting together little Plumes of several colours, in such method as to give a representation of what they design; which tho' it be but coarse work yet the Colours are lively; so I can promise no exact work, but true and lively Colours I will offer, being those mixed by our Martyr himself, tho' perhaps unskilfully placed by me. And as the Popish Legend tells of two Pictures of our Saviour done by himself, one particularly which he left in *Veronica's* Handkercher when he wiped his Face with it; so from the sweat of our Royal Martyr some Lineaments of his Face shall be offered. And to return to make good the character of our late Sovereign, he owned all his Authority to be derived from God; and therefore in one of his Papers I find

find these Words, when he is acknowledging the great Blessings, and eminent protection he had received from the hands of the Almighty, he adds ; To whom we know we must yield a dear account for any breach of trust, or failing of our Duty towards our People. And in another Paper reflecting on the Demand concerning the Militia, he gives the reason why he could not consent to it as it was proposed ; Because thereby he wholly divested himself (as he conceived) of the power of the Sword intrusted to him by God and the Laws of the Land for the Protection and Government of his People, thereby at once disinheriting his Posterity of that Right and Prerogative of the Crown, which is absolutely necessary for the Kingly-Office, and so weakening Monarchy in this Kingdom, that little more than the name and shadow of it will remain. In another Paper he expresses his zeal to preserve the Laws, as became God's Vicegerent, in these words : If we wanted the Conscience, we cannot the Discretion, to tempt God in an unjust Quarrel, the Laws of our Kingdom shall be sacred to us, we shall refuse no hazard to defend them, but sure we shall run none to invade them. And that Paper which is very long, he thus concludes, God so deal with us and our Posterity as we shall inviolably observe the Laws and Statutes of our Kingdom, and the Protestations we have so often made for the Defence of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, the Laws of the Land, and the just Privileges and Freedom of Parliaments.

From these Evidences it will appear what severe thoughts he had of the Obligations he lay under to Almighty God, from whom he had his Power, and to whom he knew he was to give account of his Administration.

2. We find it is said of *Saul*, that after he was anointed, God gave him another heart, and that meeting a company of Prophets he prophesied to the astonishment of those that beheld him. How much of this Divine Spirit rested on our Blessed Martyr, all those Meditations which were his Exercises in his retirement do abundantly declare. If by *Saul's* prophesying be meant the foretelling what was to come, I meet somewhat very near it from his Royal Pen, Anno 1642. in a Letter, wherein he writes these words ; I have set up my rest on the justice of my cause, being resolved that no extremity or misfortune shall make me yield ; for I will either be a Glorious King,

*King, or a Patient Martyr; and as yet not being the first, and at present not apprehending the other, I think it now no unfit time to express this my resolution to you. A very overly observer will see much in these words, even without a Commentary. Or if by prophesying be to be understood an elevated way of trusting in God, and adoring him, then I shall add what I find under the same sacred Pen, when he was at Newcastle, in a Letter to one of his Subjects: Know that I rather expect the worse than the better event of things; being resolved (by the Grace of God, and without the least repining at him) to suffer any thing that Injury can put upon me, rather than sin against my Conscience. And in another Letter, Now for the sad consequences I know no so good antidote as a good Conscience, which by the Grace of God I will preserve whatever else happen to me.*

A third Character we have of Saul is that he was very careful to protect his Subjects when in danger; as appears both by his haste to relieve *Jabish Giliad*, when sore put to it by the *King of Ammon*, and by his engaging against the *Philistines* with so much Personal danger to himself and his Family. Now what our Martyr's zeal for protecting his Subjects was, (I speak not of his Care in protecting the oppressed Protestants in Germany and France, which I leave to the Historians) I shall make appear from the following Evidences. What vast Concessions he made to his Native Kingdom every body knows; and therefore he concluded a Paper he signed on his Pacification with them in these words: *And as we have just reason to believe that to our peaceable and well-affected Subjects this will be satisfactory; so we take God and the World to witness that whatever Calamities shall ensue by our necessitated suppressing of the Insolencies of such as shall continue in their disobedient Courses, is not occasioned by us, but by their own procurement.* And in a Letter to one of his Commissioners there, he writes: *But if the madness of our Subjects be such, that they will not rest satisfy'd with what we have given you power to condescend to; which notwithstanding all their Insolencies we still allow you to make good to them; We take God to witness that what Misery soever fall to that Country hereafter, it is no fault of ours but their own Procurement.* And in another Letter at that same time: *We take God to witness we have*

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permitted them to do many things for establishing of Peace contrary to our own Judgment. How far he complied with their most unreasonable desires to the very great diminutions of his Royal Authority is well enough known.

When he saw them inclined to engage in the Civil War in this Kingdom, he left no mean unessayed to satisfy even all their Jealousies and Fears; and therefore in a Paper under his own Pen he writes these Words: *We do conjure all our good Subjects of that our Native Kingdom, by the long, happy and uninterrupted Government of us, and our Royal Progenitors over them, by the memory of those many large and publick Blessings they enjoyed under our dear Father, by those ample Favors and Benefits they have received from us, not to suffer themselves to be misled and corrupted in their affections and duty to us by the cunning malice and industry of these Incendiaries.*

And when he heard those dismal news of that most barbarous Rebellion in Ireland, with what zeal he set about the sending relief to them may appear from the following words of one of his Letters to one in his Native Kingdom after he had lamented the Miseries and Afflictions, to which his good Subjects in Ireland were reduced through the inhumane and unheard-of cruelties of the Rebels there; and had regretted the delays of sending supplies to them through the distractions of England; he adds: *So that if some extraordinary course be not taken for their present supply, it is not like their miseries will end sooner than their days.* Therefore he required them to hasten the sending over their Forces, assuring them, That if the Parliament of England did not punctually pay them, he would engage his own Revenue, rather than delay so good and so necessary a Work; and that he would issue out such Warrants under the Great Seal of England, and grant all their other desires which in reason could be demanded for the advancement of it. And after that, seeing that work went on slowly, he was resolved to have gone in Person to have carried it on more vigorously, and to have hazarded himself, that he might preserve his People. But finding that Resolution gave great Jealousies to those who censured him, whatever he did, he gave it over.

How careful he was to prevent a Rupture in this Nation,

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not only his great Concessions prove, but his constant offers of Treaty, even when things went prosperously with him, do demonstrate, therefore reflecting on this in a Paper (under his own Pen) he writes; *We denied not any thing, but what by the known Law was unquestionably our own; we earnestly desired and pressed a Treaty, that so we might but know at what Price we might prevent the Miseries and Desolations that was threatned; but this was absolutely and scornfully refused and rejected.* And in a Message, which tho' it was never sent, yet remains under his hand, he writes these words: *And now he conjures his two Houses of Parliament, as they are Englishmen, Christians and lovers of Peace, by the duty they owe their King, and by the bowels of Compassion they have towards their Fellow-subjects, that they will accept of these offers, whereby the joyful news of Peace may be again restored to this languishing Kingdom.*

And thus far the Parallel of Saul and our Martyr'd King hath held good, but now they must depart from one another, and it shall appear how our late Sovereign was on many accounts hugely preferable to the King lamented in my Text; yet I shall name one particular in which Saul had the better of him.

Saul had by his rash Oath endangered Jonathan's life, which he seem'd resolved to execute, but the earnest intercessions of his People prevailed on him to change these his severe and cruel resolutions. But alas! Our Martyr having firmly resolved to save a Person he judged innocent, and clear of the Treason charged on him, did, to comply with the most pressing desires of his People, consent to the putting him to Death: We have seen his Fault and the specious colours that led him to it, next let me lay before you his Repentance, expressed by himself in a Letter, Anno 1642. *One thing more, which, but for the Messenger, were too much to trust to Paper, the failing to one Friend hath indeed gone very near me; wherefore I am resolved that no Consideration whatsoever shall ever make me do the like upon this ground. I am certain that God hath either so totally forgiven me, that he will still bless this good cause in my hands, or that all my Punishment shall be in his World, which without performing what I have resolved, I cannot flatter my self*  
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*will end here.* And he ends that Letter thus: *Beside Generosity, to which I pretend a little, my Conscience will make me stick to my Friends.* How deep his Sense of that Sin, how great his Apprehensions of the Judgments of God, and how true his Notion of Repentance was, cannot but easily appear upon the first hearing these Words.

But for this one advantage, the King in my Text had of the King of the Day, we shall find many great and noble Characters in which he excelled him.

And first, *Saul* pretended some zeal for God, he built an Altar for him; he honoured *Samuel*, his Prophet, he went and destroyed the *Amalekites*; but when it might serve his turn he did not stick to disobey God, he saved *Agag*, and much of the Spoil of the *Amalekites*, pretending it was preserved for offering Sacrifices. He had not patience to stay for *Samuel*, but did sacrilegiously offer the Sacrifice himself. But our Martyr did not only express great regard to God in his Prosperity, by many high marks of his zeal and constant attendance on the Worship of God; his great esteem of all worthy and deserving Church-men, and his Royal Bounty to the advancing all pious and religious purposes: But by his constant and firm adhering to those Rights of the Church, and to all he judged himself bound in Conscience to maintain; therefore it was that he did choose to bear the greatest dangers rather than sin against his Conscience. When the Violence of his Native Subjects against the Order of Bishops had brought things to that pass, that it could not be maintained without much Blood and Confusion, he judged that God loved Mercy better than Sacrifice, did give way to their Fury; but with that tender Care that became a Man of so severe and exact a Conscience; and this shall appear by some Evidences I go to mention. Having signed a Paper of Concessions, wherein he had used the Word, *it pleased him*, reflecting on the Importance of that, he wrote the following Words in a Letter to him that had the managing of that Business: *I must desire you to alter one Word, that I should not be thought to desire the abolishing of that in Scotland, which I approve and maintain in England.* Now the Word content expresses enough my Consent to have them surcease for the pre-



sent. But the Word pleased methinks imports as much as if I desired them to take them away, or, at least, that I were well pleased they should do so: But I leave it to your ordering; so that you make it be clearly understood that though I permit, yet I would be better pleased they let them alone. And in the Instructions he gave his Commissioner for consenting to the Abolition of the Order of Bishops, he wrote thus: Carry the Disputes so that the Conclusion seem not to be made in Prejudice of Episcopacy as unlawful, but only in Satisfaction to the People, and for settling the present Disorders, and such other Reasons of State. And he likewise ordered him to take care, That Episcopacy should not be abjured as a point of Popery, contrary to God's Law, or the Protestant Religion. And at the same time, in a Letter to the Primate of that Church, he wrote thus: We do assure you that it shall be still one of our chiefest studies how to rectifie and establish the Government of that Church aright. And he adds a little after, You may rest secure, that though perhaps we give way for the present to that which will be prejudicial, both to the Church and our own Government, yet we will not leave thinking in time how to remedy both.

After God in his wise and holy, though to us unaccountable Counsels, suffered the Rebellious Arms of his Enemies so far to prevail, that nothing did promise any hopes of his being re-established on his Throne, but the consenting to all the demands of those in whose hands he had cast himself, then did the strict care he had to keep a good Conscience appear, by his hazarding all things rather than endanger his inward quiet; and therefore he told them: That when he was satisfied in his Conscience with the lawfulness of what they desired, then, but not till then, could he grant their demands; and was willing to enter in conference with any they would appoint about these two Points, the one being the Divine Appointment of Bishops, and the other his being obliged to defend them by his Oath of Coronation. And the Account of one of his Discourses I have seen, is thus: That he would run the hazard of all his Crowns below, rather than endanger that above; and that tho' the quiet of his Kingdoms, and the settlement of his Throne were very valuable, yet the Peace of his Conscience must be preferred by him to all things. And in a Discourse

course he had, which he wrote with his own Pen, he used these Words: Not to stay you too long upon so unpleasing a subject; I assure you that nothing but the preservation of that which is dearer to me than my Life, could have hindered me from giving you full satisfaction; for, upon my Word, all the dangers and inconveniencies which you have laid before me, do not so much trouble me, as that I cannot give full satisfaction to the desires of my Native Country; especially, being so earnestly pressed upon me: And yet here again I must tell you (for in this case repetitions are not impertinent) that I do not give you a denial; nay, I protest against it, and remember it is your King that desires to be heard. And in another Paper he sent to those that governed then in his Native Kingdom, he writes these Words: If it be so clear, as you believe, that Episcopacy is unlawful, I doubt not but God shall so enlighten mine Eyes, that I shall soon perceive it; and then promise you to concur with you fully in matters of Religion; and therefore he subjoins, he hopes they would not press him to do that which was yet against his Conscience, until he might do it without sinning. And he concluded that Paper with a Postscript to the Ministers: That he hoped they, as Ministers of God's Word, would not press upon him untimeously the matter of Church-government, until (he adds) I may have leisure to be so perswaded, that I may comply with what they desire without breach of Conscience; which I am confident they, as Church-men, cannot press me to do. And in these conscientious Resolutions he was so firm, that in a private Letter he writes thus: For God's sake do not so much as expect, much less linger after any other or further matter from me; for upon the faith of a Christian you shall have no more than what is now laid before you. And in another Letter: As for your Covenant, when, and not before, that I shall be satisfied in my Conscience that I may allow it, I will. He going on grounds so strict and wellpleasing to God, it was no wonder he maintained that serenity of mind, that when he got Letters that told him how he was to be used, being engaged at Chess, he continued to play after he had read his Letters, without shew of any commotion or disturbance, which I have seen under the hand of an eye-witness. And in the Month of March, before his Martyrdom, when he was almost out of all hopes; yet he would not depart from these

these Christian Resolutions, which I find thus expressed by his own Pen: *For any enlargement concerning Church-affairs I desire you not to expect it from me, for such Expectations have been a great cause of this my present Condition, which I assure you I am still resolved rather to suffer than to wrong my Conscience or Honour, which I must do if I enlarge my self any thing in these points.* These are some of the true Characters of a Defender of the Faith; of one that did approve himself to be under God and Christ, the Supreme over the Church, and of one that was indeed fitted to bear all things, rather than sin against God or his Conscience.

2. Another Character of *Saul* is his cruelty, which was so enraged that he spared neither Son-in-law, nor Son, but threw his Darts at them to have killed them, and his cruelty against *David* was also joined with perfidy and breach of trust; for after he had given him the most sacred assurances, he still continued to pursue him, and caused to be murdered Fourscore and Five Priests for the pretended fault of one which he believed upon the relation of an *Edomite*. This was a fact both so cruel and so impious, that he could find none to execute it, but that uncircumcised Alien, and all this was the effect of that evil Spirit was let loose upon him, when by his sins he had driven away the good Spirit of God. But our Royal Martyr did daily shew more and more Evidences of a truly Divine and Christian Spirit: What full Indemnity and Oblivion did he offer his Enemies! Even tho they would not allow any Indemnity to his Friends. And how much he was against all cruel or severe practices, may appear from these Evidences; one is under his own hand, in these words: *The present distractions about Religion are so great, and of that nature, that perswasion as well as power must be used to restore that happy Tranquillity which the Church of England hath lately and miserably lost; for certainly violence and persecution never was nor will be found a right way to settle Peoples Consciences.* And this went so far with him, as to give him a strong aversion to the executing sanguinary Laws against even the emissaries of *Rome*, which I find he thus expresses in a Paper, written with his own Pen; *Concerning Goodman the Priest, the reason why I reprie-*  
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ved him is, that, as I am informed, neither Queen Elizabeth, nor my Father, did ever allow that any Priest in their times was executed meerly for Religion; which to me seems to be this particular case; yet seeing I am pressed by both Houses to give way to his Execution, because I will avoid the inconvenience of giving so great a discontentment to my People, as I perceive this Mercy may produce, I remit this particular Case to both Houses; but I desire you to take unto your serious consideration the inconveniences which, as I conceive, may upon this occasion fall upon my Subjects and other Protestants abroad; especially since it may seem to other States to be a severity with surprize; which I, having thus represented, do think my self discharged from all ill Consequences, that may ensue upon the Execution of this Person. For his Fidelity in observing his Treaties, I have already in another branch of this Discourse mentioned some Passages that shew how religiously he resolved to observe them; and his refusing to serve his Interests by promises, which how useful soever they might have been to him, yet since he could not with a good Conscience observe them, he would not make them, shews how sacred he accounted all his Promises; and his offering to quit the command of the *Militia*, either for a determinate number of Years, or for his whole Life, shews how carefully he intended to observe all he promised; since he was willing to give such a security, which as it was strong, so it diminished his Authority in the most tender and most sacred part of it.

I shall to these add only one Instance. When he saw those of his Native Kingdom engaging in the War against him, in this Kingdom, it is obvious enough how much the securing *Berwick* might have advanced his Service, and his Armies in the North could easily have done it; yet since by the Treaty with that Kingdom it was not to be garrisoned; so religiously did he observe the Treaty, that he would not put a Garrison in it: But that fidelity was not minded by those who conspired against him, who did, notwithstanding the Treaty, Garrison the place; upon which occasion he wrote what follows: No Industry hitherto could have so far prevailed with us as to have gained any belief that our Scotch-Subjects would countenance, much less assist this bloody Rebellion in England; yet we know not how to understand the levying Forces both Foot and Horse within our Native  
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*Kingdom, and their entering the Town of Berwick in an hostile manner. Our most malicious Enemies must bear us witness, how religiously we have observed these Articles on our part; whereas, if we had not been waretender, than the advisers of this breach have been, of the Publick Faith, it is obvious to any how easily we could have secured that Town from all Rebels. And after he had refuted the Pretence they made use of, he adds: Such then as shall shelter themselves under that pretext, will find from thence but a slender warrant before God, who knows the integrity of our Heart, and how inviolably we intend to preserve all that we have granted that Kingdom, so long as they suffer themselves to be capable of our Protection, and those favours. He likewise wrote in another Letter at that same time these Words: Such high indignities to us, and to our Authority, make us believe they have forgot they have a King, and their Oaths in preserving us in our just power, as their King. But God will discover and punish such undutiful thoughts, how closely soever they be clouded with pretences of safety to Religion and Liberty, which they know will be ever dearer to us than our own preservation.*

3. And to close up this Parallel, Saul, when in danger, betook himself to the basest Arts, and went to the Witch at Endor, to ask Resposes about the event of that Battel he was to give the Philistines, not considering how he had provoked God to withdraw his protection from him; and that all the powers of Hell, and evil Spirits were no longer able to preserve him; and having got a sad answer to his over-curious Question, (the common fate of all who will by these forbidden Arts thrust into the secrets of the Divine Councils,) we find him wofully faint-hearted, sore afraid, fall flat on the ground and refuse to eat. And after that fatal Battel he had neither the courage to out-live it, nor the strength to finish his desperate design upon himself; but after he had fallen on his own Sword, he called an Amalekite to compleat that Self-murder, which he begun by his falling on his Sword, and finished by these cruel Orders he gave. But nothing of all this belongs to our Royal Martyr, who depended on God, and submitted to his will in the course of all his Councils, both of Peace and War; And when it pleased God for the Punishment of his People, to expose him to the malice and cruelty of his Enemies, even then he proved more than Conqueror; and

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according to the prospect he had of it long before, he was a *Patient Martyr*: Nor did he express the least meanness of Spirit when brought lowest; he would neither give up the Rights of the Church nor the Crown, of People nor Parliaments, to their insulting pride, who trampling on all Laws Sacred and Humane, had made themselves the sacrilegious Masters of his Person and Power. And as he was not cowardly or languid under all his Misfortunes, so he maintained his Authority as long as he was able, and did not faintly despond, nor abandon his own Rights, or the Protection of his People. But this leads me to the sad part of my Discourse, wherein I am to compare the Reasons we have for mourning, with these *David* and the People of *Israel* had on this Occasion, and it will be easily allowed, ours must be by so much the greater, by how much our Royal Martyr did exceed their King, which hath been demonstrated in the Parallel I have given.

First, This Kings Death was his own Deed; and though the Victory his Enemies got, drove him to that despair, yet none of the People were of accession to it: And for the *Amalekite* (if his relation was true) as it was an Alien from their Common-wealth that did it; so *Saul* was well served for not destroying the *Amalekites*, as *Samuel* had commanded him; therefore they had no particular reason to be sorry, but only because they had lost a King, who as he was none of the worst, so he was far from being one of the best Princes. Perhaps *David* had some more reason to fast and mourn, and as his Conscience did before accuse him for cutting off the Hem of his Garment; so now the Arms he bare against him did trouble his Conscience.

For though much may be said for *David* in that case, he was the designed Heir of the Crown by Gods Appointment; he was very unjustly and perfidiously used by *Saul*; he had kept himself on a pure defensive, and *Saul's* being frenetick and possessed with an evil Spirit, are great justifications of *David's* little Army, or rather Guard; and his being a Man according to Gods Heart, ought to possess all with that esteem for him, as not easily to find fault with him, or with any of his Actions; yet his Army being made up of Men distressed,



in debt, and discontented, is a shrewd Indication, that the Cause was not over-good when he had such a following. Besides, his going to live at *Gath* with the Uncircumcised, his cutting off the *Amalekites*, and pretending to *Achish* that he had destroyed his own People by an unjustifiable deceit; and finally his going out with the Armies of the *Philistines*, and professing a great desire to fight against the Enemies of *Achish*, who were no other but *Saul*, his natural Liege-Lord, and the Armies of *Israel* (wherein he either acted a very unsincere part, or did really resolve to have engaged against them) are things so manifestly contrary to the Laws of God, that they give a strong presumption, that the whole business of his taking Arms was contrary to Law and Religion. But I shall not enter further into the Dispute, and so leave it; inclining rather to believe, that *David's* Conscience did accuse him of having failed in his Duty to *Saul*.

But after all this our Case is much more justly deplorable, who did not lose our King by the prevailing power of a Hostile Invasion, but by the unnatural Hands of his own Subjects, who were (both by the tie of Subjection, by their Oaths of Allegiance, which many of them had sworn, and by their constant professions of fighting for the King, and in defence of his Authority, as they gave it out, for training in the multitude by so deceitful a bait) tyed to the preservation of his Person, and yet did wash their Hands in his Blood; and by their pretending Religion and Justice, in a Fact so contrary to both, did (as much as in them lay) bring the foulest imputations on both that could be. How did this open the Mouths of the Adversaries of our Religion, (whom we had justly charged for their seditious and treasonable Doctrines) to insult over us? But without all cause: For as all the reasons pretended, were but upon the matter the same with those their Doctors have published, allowing but a small change; so those of our true and soundly reformed Church did abominate so foul a Crime, with all possible horror; and, as was most just, did both in publick and private declare against it; and with a generous and truly Christian constancy, endured Sequestrations, Imprisonments, and every thing which that insulting Power put them to, rather than comply with so vile an Action, and its vile Actors. But

But to all this it may be said, let these mourn who were of accession to it, that concerns not us. To which I must answer, that such publick Crimes leave a guilt upon the whole Nation, which therefore must be expiated with a publick universal Repentance. And if in the Law of *Moses* God declared, that Blood was a crying Sin which called to Heaven for Vengeance, and therefore when a Murder was discovered, and the Murderer was not known, there was to be a Sacrifice for the whole People to expiate the Guilt; how much more in a Crime, attended with so many foul and black Circumstances, ought we by earnest Prayers to study to avert these Judgments, which we may but too justly apprehend?

And to this let me add, that there are not so many Innocent as those, perhaps, imagine; for as *David* here did (it is probable) charge himself for arming against the Lord's anointed; so what reason have these who engaged in Opposition, and Arms to our Royal Martyr, to charge and judge themselves, that they be not judged of the Lord; who not being satisfied with those great and large Concessions, he freely and willingly offered, did pursue his Person and Life in the Field; after which it was no wonder others learned to pursue him to the Scaffold. May not the one be said to have killed the King that robbed him of his Revenue, Power and Authority, and every thing was necessary for the maintenance of the Royal Dignity; whereas the other did but murder *Charles*, after he was spoiled of his Royal Power, and the Government taken out of his Hands: Tho' in a formal Pageantry Writs were issued in his Name. And thus we find the grounds of our mourning grow larger, and take, or rather call in, more Mourners.

But in fine, by another advance, a great many more will be comprized within this duty, even all those who did not with the most vigorous opposition was possible prevent this barbarous Regicide; which made a foreign Historian, giving account of it, say, it was a wonder how *English-men* could look on and behold so barbarous and unexampled a Crime: Where were the Hearts and Hands of the brave *English*, whose loyal and noble valour appearing on this occasion, had been

a Subject to be celebrated by all the highest and most grateful Remembrances Posterity could dedicate to, so glorious an Action? Did a pusillanimous fear freez their Courage, when their Head was thus struck at? Did the Care of their Fortunes prevail, when they could expect no longer to live secure in the Possession of any of their Rights, when all was in this one Act unhinged? Did the atrocity of the Fact astonish them so, that they were not recovered out of this amazing surprize till it was too late? Or did the suddenness of the Crime prevent their diligence? Or were they so charitable to their Countrymen as not to think any could be capable of committing this Crime, till they were convinced of it, by an unanswerable Argument? Yet all these palliations or excuses will not serve turn, they should have put all to hazard when they saw the case so desperate, and all like to be lost. And thus it appears many are concerned to mourn on this Occasion, who perhaps think themselves far from any Guilt.

Finally, there be yet others concerned who (may be) do not so much as imagine how it may come to their Door, and these be the present Generation, who either were not Born then, or at least of that Age that nothing could be expected from them; but even they must consider that God visits the Sins of the Fathers upon the Children; and tho' no Child is Guilty of his Fathers Fact; unless he concurred in it, or did afterwards approve it, yet many times the Judgments of God in Temporal things do overtake them for their Fathers Faults; which is no more unjust than for the Law to deny the Child any of the Privileges of Subjects for the Fathers Faults. From all this then it will appear how much more reason we have to Mourn, than the People of *Israel* had on this Occasion, who have (to the scorn and insultings of our Enemies) been one way or other so generally Guilty in the Death of so religious and pious a Prince.

2. But the People of *Israel* had this great allay to their Grief that they had a Prince designed by God for the Succession, who had given such approved Evidences of his great Piety, Wisdom, Valour, and Conduct, that their Government was presently to take a settlement; though it is true *Abner* set up *Ishbosheth*, *Saul's* Son, who was followed by all *Israel*, only *Judah*,



*Judah*, *David's* own Tribe, adhered to him : But this was after Two Years War decided, and all *Israel* received *David* for their King ; and still the Government was steady and even, and therefore they had not that reason to afflict them which we had on the occasion we now remember.

It is true the right of Succession was clear and undisputed, but those who killed the Father, continued their Crimes by pursuing the Son, and not only driving him from his Rights, but when one of the Tribes of our *Israel*, even that which justly glories in a nearer Interest in our Sovereign's Person, had adhered to him, and crowned him, tho' with very unjustifiable reserves, then did that Party, bathed in the Father's Blood, Thirst likewise for the Son's, and carried the War into that Kingdom ; and when the righteous Heir of our murdered Martyr came into this, then again did carnal Wisdom, and the care of Mens Lives and Estates prevail over those strong ties of Loyalty and Subjection ; God having reserved the establishing him on his Father's Throne to his own immediate Arm ; wherein there should be a clear declaration of his wise and wonderful Providence, in turning about the Hearts of the Nation to him ; so that to Posterity it would be a Problem, which of the Two is the more astonishing, either the Rebellion against the Father, or the recalling the Son, and that some of the very same Persons shall have been instrumental in both, by the latter Action expressing their true and sincere Repentance for the former.

But alas ! The Interval was long ; it was not only a Two Years War, like that betwixt *Saul's* Son and *David*, but a Ten Years Thralldom ; wherein those that had complained of some small Incroachments on Liberty before, did totally overturn all the Freedoms both of Parliament and People ; but to colour this a little, gave a large and unrestrained Liberty in Matters of Religion, by which all Sense of Order and regular Government, being quite cast off, many by the Custom of an unbounded Lawlessness, became habitually *Sons of Belial* ; and as Heifers unaccustomed to the Yoke, cannot again be brought under these necessary Restraints and Regularities of Religion and Law. Nay, which is worse, tho' but the effect of the former, many youthful and extravagant  
Spirits

Spirits being once delivered from all obligation to any piece of Religious Worship, come by degrees to lose all sense of it; and seeing those irregular and ungoverned Practices of many pretenders to Religion, who were visibly advancing their own Designs under the colours of Piety; they came to imagine Religion was only a pretence by which ambitious Men carried on their own ends; and the many Subdivisions and different Parties they observed about Matters of Religion, made them also judge there could be no certainty where there was so much debate and dispute. And to all this may be added that by Oaths and counter-Oaths, which they often took, (having passed from the Oath of Allegiance to the Covenant, and from that to the Engagement) their Consciences became seared, and past feeling; or, being much wounded by such swearing, to avoid the smart of that, they took themselves to these cursed Arts of getting quiet in their impious Practices, by throwing off all sense of God and Religion, and setting up professedly for Atheism; which is so natural a result of what has been said, that I think it cannot be doubted to have sprung from it. And hitherto I suppose it is unquestionably clear, that we have much more reason to lament the matter now before us, than those had who are in my Text.

3. And now I advance to the third and last part of my Discourse, to consider what this mourning was, and what ours ought to be; they upon so sad news and so great a loss, were both very tenderly affected for the Death of a King that had so many good Qualities, that he being dead they had reason to forget his bad ones; the loss also of so noble a Prince as *Jonathan*, (who may justly pass for one of the bravest *Hero's*, and the most generous Friends that ever was) could not but be very sad, especially to *David*, whose Friendship with *Jonathan* was beyond what is either in History or Romance, and as hitherto all the generous parts of the Friendship were on *Jonathan's* side, though we find *David's* returns were as tender, and rather more; for at their parting, when their mutual Friendship set them both a-crying, it is said, *David* exceeded. But now when *David* was to have made returns suitable to what he had received from *Jonathan*, he is snatched away by the Sword of the *Philistines*, they had also many brave

brave Country-men that were killed: To this was to be added the sad condition the House of *Israel* was in by so great a defeat; all which concurring could not but make a deep Impression on the Hearts of *David*, and the People with him, which did set them to their Tears and Prayers, both for their own Sins, and perhaps they reckoned their arming against *Saul* one, and with these they also mourned for the Sins of *Israel*, praying God to avert his Judgments, to prevent the mischief might follow, and to recover his People from the ignominy of so bad a loss, and in the end to settle *David* so on the Throne of *Saul*, that there might be under his Reign, Justice and Truth, Plenty and Peace, both at home and abroad. This is a clear fair account of the work of those with *David* in my Text.

And after this the Application will be easie; from which I shall not digress by proving the lawfulness and fitness of Anniversaries, that being so well done by others, but refer my Hearers to *Zachary*, by whom we find the People of God fasted during the Seventy Years of the Captivity, the Fifth and Seventh Month; he also mentions their Fasts of the Fourth and Tenth Month; tho' it is plain there are no such Fasts commanded in the old Testament; and yet the Prophet is so far from blaming these stated returns, that he only blames their being formal and regardless of God in them, and gives them directions how they should have ordered them. But leaving this unreasonable Objection, which is made by none but those who have the chief reason to mourn and fast on this Occasion; I go next to propose what the nature and ends of our Mourning and Fasting should be, which I shall lay open briefly in Two Points.

1. The one is to mourn before God for the Guilt of this atrocious Sin; that if any of us have been (as was before laid open) involved in the Guilt, we may wash off the stain of this Sin, which is of so deep a dye, and if we our selves be on all accounts clear of it, at least we are to pray for Pardon to those who were Guilty, that God may open their Eyes, so as to confess and mourn for their Sins; and in this we follow the example of our Royal Martyr, who looking to Jesus the Author and Finisher of his Salvation, who endured the Cross,



Cross, despising the Shame, and prayed for his Enemies, did with Patience run the Race set before him, and humbly imitate his King and Saviour in pardoning and praying for his Enemies.

We are also on our own Accounts to pray God to deliver the whole Land from this Guilt, lest when God shall come and make inquisition for this Innocent Blood, we be involved in the common Judgments, which cannot fall on the Land so, but all concerned in it must bear their share. But we must not only mourn for this particular Crime, tho' it be so foul as to need the expiation of many Tears and Prayers, but we must go higher, and look to the first beginnings of the late troubles; and see what provoked God then to plague us so sadly, and whether we have not re-acted these very Abominations which then stirred up Gods Wrath against us. I need not enter into a particular enumeration of our Sins before the Year Forty, and compare them with these that now abound; the comparison would be as invidious as it is obvious. Let every one then call himself to an account, how Guilty he is of undervaluing Gods Mercies, and the great deliverance he gave to his Anointed, and by that to his whole People; how he abuses our Peace and Plenty into Licentiousness, Profanity, and brutal, ungoverned and avowed Impiety; and how he abuses the Protection and Security Law gives to Insolence, Faction and Boldness; how he despises the Gospel, affronts Religion, and the Worship of God, either by an impious contempt of it, a factious separating from it, or a bare formal coming to it, without any serious or devout consideration of that Majesty he scorns, by a pretended drawing near him with his Lips, when in his Heart he is far from him. These and a great deal more of that Nature (with which our Consciences will certainly charge us, if we return our Thoughts, and call our selves to a severe account for what is past) ought to be now mourned for; otherwise the formal observing these Annual Returns does but add to our other Sins, and enhance our Guilt, when we mock God by a pretended Mourning and Fasting.

2. And the only evidence of the Sincerity of our Mourning is, our departing from these sinful Courses which may  
 provoke

provoke God's Wrath, and from all seditious Inclinations which may be fewel for new or worse Calamities ; for we may with good Reason apprehend, if the late Wars and other Plagues have not taught us to repent of our Sins, and amend our ways, that according to the gradation we find always used in Scriptures, when Judgments are denounced, the next shall be much sadder than any we have seen or heard of. But God is merciful and gracious, slow to Anger and ready to forgive, if we turn to him with all our Hearts ; let us therefore from the deep Sense of our Sins, and the just Apprehensions of the deserved Judgment, turn unfeignedly to God, who hath both by the gentler methods of Love, and the severer Executions of Judgments been calling on us to Repentance ; let us throw off our impious and debauching Practices, by which we make War against Heaven, daring God by unparallel'd Wickedness, and defying him by our unheard of Stoutness against him : But do we think to prevail against God, are we stronger than he ? Can we resist his Thunders or his Plagues, Fire and Famine ? And though we were strong enough to resist the Impressions and Injuries of all our Neighbours, yet how easily can God plague us with a Division of Hearts, and such disjointed Affections, that as a Body paralytick we fall to Ruin and Misery with our own Weight, and without any Enemy.

And for the avoiding this, next to the appeasing the Divine Displeasure, let us express our Horror of this Fact by a constant, humble, and dutiful Obedience and Loyalty to his Majesty who now reigns, and study to abstain from (not only all these disloyal and unchristian Courses, which ended so tragically, but even from) the first beginnings of these Disorders, which as Sparks of Fire, blown on by some seditious Incendiaries, did set us all in a flame ; and a serious Review of the late Times, will demonstrate, that the wicked Designs of those Enemies to Monarchy could never have become so strong, if they had not wrought on the more innocent, the inconsiderate Zeal of some (who afterwards proved both good Subjects and faithful Patriots) who complaining over-severely of some Errors of Government,

did (though as afterwards it appeared contrary to their Designs) give both Strength and Credit to a Faction which did soon scornfully disdain them, whom at first they owned to be their Leaders. So dangerous it is to nourish Factions, which will quickly pass all Bounds. This, I hope, will teach all in the time to come, how carefully and religiously they ought to guard against the cherishing of Discontents, or the possessing the Subjects with Jealousies and Fears, and a Contempt of their Governors, or their Government; and as no Man can guard against any Sin, without he consider well all these subtle Temptations that lead him to it, and all the smaller and less discerned, or observed beginnings of it; so if we truly mourn and fast for the Sin committed this day, we must consider and watch against all these lesser and more unheeded Motions, Jealousies, Fears, undutiful Discourses and Censures, which do insensibly make way and prepare Men to all manner of Sedition and Disloyalty; at least, so weakens their dutiful Respect to Governors, that faint Services are to be expected from so cold Affections.

But I hope past Experience will teach us more Wisdom, and that this Nation which with so religious a Zeal designs to expiate what is past, will with the same Care study the preventing every thing may lead to the reacting these sad Calamities, of which we have still among us many doleful Remembrances, besides this day of Mourning and Fasting. In which God of his infinite Mercy grant we may so repent, that he may deliver us from Blood-guiltiness, and from all other Judgments our Sins have most justly deserved. To this God be Glory for ever and ever. *Amen.*

F I N I S.



# Subjection for Conscience-sake Asserted :

## SERMON

Preached at

COVENT-GARDEN-Church,

December the Sixth, 1674.

ROM. 13. 5.

Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for Wrath,  
but for Conscience-sake.

**I**T is the great and just Glory of our most holy Faith, that it is no less the Interest than the Duty of all Men to embrace it, and Live according to its Precepts : For if we examine either the Complex of the whole Christian Religion in gross, or the several parcels of it, and *Duties it enjoyns* ; we must confess all the Laws of *Solon and Lycurgus*, of *Greece and Rome* come infinitely short of the excellent Provisions it gives for the Peace of Mankind, and the Order of Societies : So that it plainly appears, the Author of it was a lover of Men. What Rule of Justice can match that of doing to others what we would have others do to us, Matth. 7. 12. which is so home, so easily remembred, and readily applied, that no wonder the very Heathens admired it ? But, not content with the strictest rigors of Justice, our Saviour hath also obliged us to the supererogatings (if I may so speak) of Charity,

and hath commanded us to Love one another as Brethren ; nor must our brotherly Love be confined within the narrow bounds of a Party, but extend it self to all Men whom it takes within its Verge, forgiving Injuries and loving Enemies. And for the security of Order and Government, what means are like those our Religion offers ? This is even confessed by its declared Enemies, who charge it as the contrivance of designing Men for securing their Power and Authority ; and indeed all the Arts of Statesmen, the Cunning of Policy, the closeness of Councils, the Exactness of Intelligence, the strength of Armies or Navies, the strictness of Guards, regular Fortifications, great Treasures and vast Magazines, are but Ineffectual Means, compared to this which Religion offers for the security of a State, by setting up Conscience as a Sentinel to watch in every Man's Breast, that shall not let pass through it one thought contrary to the Peace of the Society. Wise Statesmen hold it for a Maxim, That the chief security of a Sovereign is in his being Master of the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects, which will draw with them their Hands and Purses as need shall require. But Mankind being so subject to a variety of Passions, which by an unruly vicissitude possess the Minds, especially of the giddy Multitude, there can be no Assurance in this, unless somewhat that is more fixed and better grounded, tye Subjects to the Duty they owe the Sovereign Power. And therefore those who have attempted God and designed to discharge Men of the sense of a Deity, or the Apprehensions of another Life, are the greatest Enemies to Authority : Their Blood and Extraction may perhaps entitle them to Honour, and a high Quality, but their Maxims destroy all Honour, and would quickly bring on a levelling of all Qualities. He were, by the confession of all, highly criminal, who would question the King's Title to the Crown, or offer to void his Right ; and yet this is the Crime of those insulting Hectors : For if there be no God, then that Sacred and Royal Reputation of Sovereign Power, which Princes derive from him, who is the Original of it, *by whom Kings Reign*, is out of doors : This levels the Prince with the Subject, and gives the Usurper as good a Title as the lawful Sovereign can claim.

I shall not now engage in a long discourse of Policy, nor examine the Original of Power, nor the Measures and Limits of it, nor the Nature and Extent of the Subjection we owe Authority; much less run out in a long Digression of the Obligation of Conscience: But shall limit my Discourse to one single point, that Conscience is the great security of a State, the Spring of Obedience, and the sure basis of Submission. And in opening up this I shall,

1. Shew that Conscience doth choak and stifle the Occasions and causes of Commotions in their first Conceptions.

2. That it drives the sense of Duty and the obligation to Obedience deeper on our Minds than any other consideration whatsoever.

3. That it gives the strongest Arguments for convincing our Reason and the most engaging Motives for prevailing on our Affections, to pay the Duties of Subjection to those God hath set over us. And,

4. I shall encounter and put out of the way a formidable Objection, which may offer it self in prejudice of what I am to deliver.

For the first, it is certain, that as the great Diseases of our Bodies are not so much the Effects of outward Accidents as of bad Humours, to which a *crisis* may be given by some foreign Impression, which may put them in a ferment, and so endanger our Health: Thus the distempers of the Body Politick owe their beginnings and growth to some ill Humours in it, and the real Causes of Commotions are seldom the same with these that are pretended for training in and engaging a Multitude; for, *from whence come wars and fightings among us, but from our lusts, that war in our Members?* 1. Jam. 4. 2. I shall therefore consider some of those Lusts and distempered Affections from which Commotions may arise, that I may shew how Religion, and it only, can secure Government from their bad effects. Time will not allow me to make good all I am to say from History; but those who know Mankind will easily see the dependence of these Effects from the Causes I go to Name, and such as have read History will find the Confirmation of it so clear, that I may well be excused the labour of adducing particular Proofs in so plain a case.

1. But



**r.** But to stand no longer on Generals : One great occasion of Commotions is an unbounded and aspiring Ambition which makes many swell big in their own conceit, and they measuring themselves by what they appear in the Glass of their own enchanted Imagination, which both multiplies and magnifies all that is eminent in them, expect that all the World should court them with the same admiration which they pay themselves. Now it is a hard thing to satisfy the pretensions of all these lofty Aspirers, nor can any State be able to gratify them all ; since nothing falls to which many several Competitors do not put in a claim : And though there be many Corrivals, only one carries the Prize, the rest being all big with a good opinion of themselves, and provoked at the unjust preference, as they imagine it, do upon that think how to make themselves considerable at their cost, who they judge consider them too little, and set up for some pretence to draw a Party, and make a Faction. But those mighty Men in their own conceits are not at quiet when they have gained what they did at first pretend to, as that which would terminate their Ambition, but make use of it as a step to mount them higher ; and thus creep up thro all Degrees ; and perhaps when they are as high as can consist with the character of a Subject, do not rest there, but when

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they are become first Ministers, will next design to juggle their Master from his Throne. For Ambition is as the Grave unsatisfied, but ever says, *Give, give*. This being so great an evil, let us see what curb can be found for stopping its career. It will soon appear, that all the Arts of Government cannot do it ; Religion is that alone which teaches us to discharge our selves of this Tympany, whose swellings are so incurable. Our Saviour hath commanded us to learn of him, who was lowly in heart ; St. Matth. 11. 29. his Apostle charges us, *That in lowliness of Mind we esteem others better than our selves*, Phil. 2. 3. *That we humble our selves in the sight of God, and be cloathed with humility as with a garment*. 1 St. Pet. 5. 5. And indeed this blessed Doctrine does no sooner prevail on us, but it changes that blind value and fondness we have for our selves, into a profound unaffected

Humility,

Humility, that represents our Faults and Defects as clear to us, as our former Vanity did our supposed Excellencies ; and instead of vast towerings, brings us under great Contrition, deep Self-denial, and an humble mistrust of our selves ; and thus Conscience obliges us to be subject, by setting out of the way this great provocation to disorder.

2. Another Cause to which not a few of the Distempers of Societies owe their Rise and Growth, is the heat and fury of Mens Passions, which being once kindled by their Pride, and blown on by many outward Accidents, at length become so fierce and violent, that no Banks can resist their Torrent, but they sweep all before them. Some are born under the disadvantage of ill Nature and a Cholerick Disposition ; and if these meet any provocation (which must needs fall out often ; for as a tender Body doth soon feel pain, so an ill disposed Mind is quickly disquieted) their heated Spirits are all in a Fever, and they either swell with Rage, fret with Envy, or boil with Revenge : And thus are their Thoughts set to work, how to drudge happily under the severe bondage of their tyrannical Passions. One perhaps to be revenged on some triumphing Favorite, whom he can overtake no easier way, will be ready to drive all to confusion, to comply with his disquieting Malice : Another that is not so much in bondage himself to those ill-natured Passions, yet being captivated with the Charms of a fair, but imperious and spiteful Mistress, must give himself up as the Instrument of all her ill Nature, and, being distracted with the extravagant Notions of Knight-errantry, thinks himself bravely Gallant, when he has sacrificed all things to her wicked Resentments. Private Animosities are known to have had a larger share in publick distempers, than any will willingly own ; and this must needs be so still, if there be no assured means for qualifying the heat, and tempering the Passions of Men : For no Government can be so well ballanced, but that many will find themselves aggrieved by it, or by those who manage it ; and if upon these irritations we ask counsel at our blinded and misled Passions, we may be well assured they will ever drive us into all the excesses of Fury and Confusion. How excellent then must this Divine Discipline be, which tames the

the wildness, and smoothes the roughness of our unpolished Natures, teaching us *to put off wrath, anger, malice, blasphemy, and evil communication out of our mouths*; Col. 3. 8. And, instead of those, moulds us into a Divine Temper, like our meek Master, obliging us *to forbear one another, and forgive one another, as he has done us*: Col. 3. 13. For that Divine Wisdom which he taught the World, *is first pure, then peaceable, gentle and easie to be entreated*. S. Jam. 3. 17. It no sooner gets into our Breasts, but it dulcifies our Choler, qualifies the bitterness of our Gall, and gives us the possession of our Minds, out of which nothing can turn us; and transforms us from that ravenous Temper into a Dove-like disposition, and, instead of these boiling thoughts, which do ferment, gives the quiet serenities of a good Conscience and fervent Charity; so that we are no more Sons of Thunder, but Children of Love, and do no more bluster out in Passion, but from the Calm of a cool Spirit do breath out soft and gentle Affections: And if of a sudden a Storm arise within us, our Consciences will at once both arraign, condemn and kill these Passions that raise it, and thus teacheth us to be subject, by destroying these Passions that do both marre our own Quiet, and endanger the publick Peace.

3. Another Occasion that hath engaged many into seditious Courses, hath been the narrowness of their Fortunes; to which they, not understanding the Philosophy of contracting their desires, which is the safer and easier course, studied by all means whatsoever to enlarge them so as to satisfy the Vanities and Prodigalities of an undiscreef Expence. As the turbulent Youth of *Athens* advised his Uncle, finding him busied to prepare his Accounts, rather to study how to make none at all. Those People think they drive a sure Trade, for they can lose little, and may gain much; therefore are ready to embark in the most desperate Designs, hoping to fish some advantage from troubled Waters. Their small Fortunes joyned with their gaping desires, are ever setting a new edge on their ulcerated Spirits, and none are so furious as these, who pinched with want and cold, and armed by despair, must do or die: If the ordinary Course of Law and Justice go on, they are undone; but the disordering these,  
does



does both reprieve them from ruine, and feed them with some hopes. Now no treasure can answer the demands of all ravenous devourers, who *cannot dig, and are ashamed to beg*; nor can the greatest exactness of care reach every Individual of a State, or oblige them to an expence proportioned to their Fortune, much less to limit their desires to it; but still there be many Prodigals, who out-run themselves, and those are often Men of brisk Tempers and ungoverned Appetites: In what disorder then must Government be, if this cannot be repressed? Perhaps in an evener Tract of Peace and Plenty, when Order and Authority maintain their Reputation, such dissolute wasters of their Fortunes cannot prove so considerable, as to disturb the Peace of a Nation: But all States are subject to Accidents that weaken them, and the Censures of an unruly Multitude will often blast the Reputation of the best Government. And at some such disadvantage these untoward Male-contents may catch an opportunity of doing much mischief; how great a happiness then is it to any Nation to embrace and obey that Religion which teaches us, *Not to take thought what we shall eat, drink, or put on, St. Matt. 5. 25, 34.* that disbands the solitudes about to Morrow, and the anxious cares that oppress weaker Minds; our holy Faith teaching us, that *we are pilgrims on Earth, as all our Fathers were*; calls up our Thoughts above the depressions of sense, to feed our selves with the assured hopes of approaching Glory and Happiness in another state, which does so entirely swallow up the sense of any present Trouble, that it leaves no other Impression on us, but to make us long to be gone beyond these shadows of Mortality and false appearances of Happiness, which do now impose on our bewitched Minds, and seduce us into a Thousand Errors and Follies. And thus again we see how Conscience stifles the very first motions of disorder, and teaches us to be subject.

4. A Fourth Occasion of disorder, is a busie meddling Temper, that cannot contain its self within its own Limits and Sphere, but will engage in things beyond its understanding, and above its reach: Some cannot stay at home and do their own business, but must ramble abroad, and insinuate them-

selves on all Affairs and Company, and are ever gaping for some change, hoping it may make way for their appearing in another Figure: These are ever sucking in ill Reports, which they are sure to belch up again in all Companies, not without additions. They delight to asperse Governours and Government, and either to find or make faults in every thing that is done, and a volatile unfixedness of disposition makes them weary of established Laws and Customs, and gape for Changes through a fond affectation of Novelty. Now these Vermine creeping into all Companies, must certainly weaken the Nerves and Sinews of Government; and most attempts for repressing this humour make it boil with the greater vehemence: But, as the Wiseman instructed us of old, *To fear God, and honour the King, and not to meddle with those that were given to change:* Prov. 24. 26. and not to say, *Why were the former days better than these, for we do not enquire wisely concerning that matter:* Eccles. 7. 10. So the doctrine of the Gospel commands every Man, *To do his own business, to stay at home, not to be a busie-body, nor meddle in other Mens affairs, but to pay tribute to whom tribute is due; fear, to whom fear; and honour, to whom honour is due.* 1 Thel. 4. 11. 1 St. Pet. 4. 15. Rom. 13. 7. These being the Rules of Religion, I may appeal all the World to shew any thing can so settle Order and Authority, as this which guards against the first appearances of Clouds and Storms.

But as Conscience doth meet the earliest beginnings of disorders in their less discernible and more plausible colours, so it ties a Man to that severe conduct of himself, that he cannot embark in Designs which must be managed with so much fraud and dissimulation, as the contrivers of wicked courses must needs carry along with them in all their practices: Pretending the highest respect, when they mean worst, lying, and forswearing, and sometimes assassinating, as it may serve their ends, and never meaning what they say, nor saying what they mean, but shuffling and warping as Interest carries them. Nor can wicked Projects appear at first barefaced, lest they should be entertained with horror by all to whom they are proposed, but must go masked, till they be so strong, as to dare to throw off the disguise: Nay,  
Reli-

Religion will be perhaps called in to serve a turn, and Scriptures wrested to a favourable construction ; all this base and foul dealing will so wound a tender and sincere Conscience, that it will either contract a hardness and *callus*, and become proof against all these awakenings ; or pull a Man out of these base Courses that must be carried on by so bad Methods ; for there is nothing so candid as Conscience, and therefore St. Paul chargeth us *not to lye one to another, since we have put off the old Man with his deeds, and have put on the new Man* ; Col. 3. 9. for he that does all things as in the sight of God, can do nothing that he fears should be seen or known of Men. And thus I have dispatched the first part of my Design, that Conscience obliges us to Subjection, by resisting all the first Motions that lead to Disorder or Confusion.

2. Nor does it only put out of the way those dangerous Stumbling-blocks, but it drives the sense of Duty deep into our Minds. Law and Government can only watch over the Actions and Words of Subjects, but can neither discover nor over-rule their Thoughts, which a cautious Man wrapping up within himself can reserve to a fit opportunity ; but Conscience insinuates the Duty we owe the Sovereign Power upon our secretest Thoughts ; and Religion obliges us *not to curse the King in our thoughts* ; Eccles. 11. 20. and has made the Duty we pay Authority a part of its self, and of these returns of the holy Fear and humble Obedience, we owe the great King of Kings. But this must not be so far carried, as if those who are vested with the Sovereign Power, had Authority to command us to embrace whatever Religion they enjoyn, according to the pestiferous spawn of that Infernal Leviathan, who by this Assertion doth at once destroy both Religion and Government. For that base Flatterer of Princes, pretending to offer them more than was due to them, hath struck at the Root of their Authority, and at once robbed them of all their Rights : For we are either bound to obey the Sovereign by some obligation the Law of God brings on us, or not ; if not, then all the Sacredness of Authority is gone, and the Prince has nothing but Force to maintain his Right, and every Usurper that Masters him



shall have a better Right, by how much more Power he has to strengthen his ambitious Pretensions. But if we be bound by the Laws of God to obey the Supreme Power, then these Laws had a *prior* Title to our Obedience, and infer the Duties of Subjects as a particular Effect of their Doctrine: Therefore these Laws having the first Right to our Obedience must oblige us. Nor can we be allowed to pick out that one, of obeying the Magistrate, and leave the rest behind us; for all the Laws of God being enacted by the same Authority must equally bind us; and as no deputed Magistrate can void the Laws of the Supreme Power, so neither can Princes void the Laws of God without sopping the Foundations of their own Authority. But none of these magnifyings of Magistracy are necessary to make it great; it being by God himself exalted to so culminating a height, and the rendring to God the things that are God's, does not prejudice *Cæsar* in the things that are *Cæsar's*: But Religion engages us to so full and Obedience to the Laws, that our violating them, when they contradict no Command of God's, makes us guilty in his sight; and though we disguise what we do with so much cunning, that the Secular Power can fix no Censure on us, yet our Consciences will accuse us before God for those secret Transgressions which no humane Care can discover. There is a Tribunal set up by God for the Magistrate in all our Breasts, which will pass Sentence severely, and not be put off by the tricks of Law, the boldness of Denials, the cunning of Excuses, or any other Arts that may impose upon, or abuse such Judges, who must proceed upon clear evidence, and not on dubious conjectures: But when a Man is retired inward, and his Conscience takes him to task, then all these visors are pulled off, and he must needs appear in the foul colours of Guilt. Another Method by which Conscience binds on us the sense of Duty and Subjection to those set over us, is the Obligation to pray for them, according to that great Rubrick of Prayer, *St. Paul* gives, *I exhort therefore that first of all supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all Men, for Kings and all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty*: 2 Tim. 2. 1, 2. which whosoever is a Christian must

must needs observe. This then must every Day awaken and keep alive the sense of Duty to those over us, so that if we have been prevailed on to undutiful courses, when we retire to our Devotions, this must certainly open our Eyes to discern and repent of our faults; for if we pray, and act in contradictions, then we either mock God, by praying for that we do not desire, and which we study to destroy; or we act most impiously in opposition to that we judge our selves bound to pray for: And every Man, whose Conscience is not strangely asleep, will soon discover this double dealing in himself, if he pray against what he acts, and be acting against his Prayers. Thus it appears, that Conscience brings the sense of our Duty to the Sovereign Power nearer us, and it closer conflicts with our daily thoughts, and forceth upon us a frequent review of them. Nor is this a blind and brutish objection to which Conscience ties us, but it binds it on us with the fullest evidence of Reason.

3. And this is the third Particular, to which my Design now leads me, wherein I am to lay out those Arguments that Conscience and the Doctrines of Christianity offer for our Subjection we must pay the Magistrates. I shall not meddle with those Reasons that may be drawn from the Rules of Humane Policy, the Nature of Societies, the Origine and Ends of Magistracy, but shall confine my Discourse to those which natural and revealed Religion do offer for obliging us to Subjection to the higher Powers.

1. And first of all, we are taught that these Powers are of God, that they are *the Ordinance of God*, his Deputies, Ministers and Vicegerents, *That have the Sword of Justice put in their hands by him, for the punishment of evil doers, and the encouragement of those that do well*; Verſ. 1. 2, 3. and he himself hath said, *They are Gods*; Psal. 82. 6. a strain of speech, that, if Divine Authority did not warrant it, would pass for impudent and blasphemous Flattery: Tho' then the Powers that are over us be clothed with our Natures, and are subject to the Passions and Infirmities with us, and live and die like men, yet for all that we must look on them as Sacred and Divine by their Character. The severe Respect that Conscience enjoyns us to pay Authority appears in the Instance of

of David, who, tho' pursued by Saul with all the violence and injustice of Oppression and Cruelty, yet when he had him in his hands, and offered him the small affront of cutting off the hem of his garment, his heart smote him for it: 1 Sam. 24. 4, 5, 6. This was a Character of a Man according to God's heart. Deputed Powers are only accountable to those from whom they derive their Authority; so the higher Powers being deputed by God, must indeed render to him a severe account of their administration, but not to others; we are therefore to obey them for the Lord's sake, and to be subject to them for Conscience-sake. 1 S. Pet. 2. 13.

2. Another consideration that obligeth to Subjection which Religion offers, is the steady and firm belief of the Government of the World, by that Unerring Providence that wisely maintains that great Fabrick and vast Frame of Beings, which it self raised out of nothing. We are apt upon the first appearances of things to judge rashly, even before we have seen all the sides and secrets of human Counsels, which would often alter our thoughts very much from our over-forward Judgments: But the secrets of the Divine Counsels lie hid from all the living, and yet the long experience which the Oeconomy of the World offers us, may justly convince us, that we are not to pass sentence hastily, and that often those things which did look most cloudy, and threatned some dismal Consequences, did by the secret Governings of that Supreme Mind, produce effects very different from those that not without great probabilities were feared: This therefore must clear the Melancholy of our discouraged and dejected minds, and dissipate those thick mists of fears and jealousies which might otherwise darken and dishearten us. He that gave the Laws to Day and Night, and can reverse these when he will; that taught the whole Frame of Nature those Motions they observe, and yet can force the Sun both to stop and to give ground when he will; and can make the Sea to rise up in hills, is able to extricate the darkest and most involved Ravelings of Second Causes. We are therefore secure, knowing, Rom. 8. 28. That all things work together for good to them that love God, believing that his Providence watcheth over his Church, and all that in



him, so that not a hair of their head falls to the ground without his care, and that he hath given his Angels charge to encamp about and Minister to the heirs of Salvation; and this may well supercede our fears, and throw off the anxieties of all perplexing thoughts, and compose our minds to an humble Subjection to those God hath brought us under. I know some may think plead here the stupidity of Fate, which must needs dishearten and slacken all good Intentions and Designs; but we are to consider the Order God hath fixed in the Government of the World, and the particular station wherein he hath placed and posted us, out of which we are not to stir on the pretence of heroical excitations; which, when examined, will be found the heats of a warm Fancy, or the swellings of an elevated Mind that distrusts the Providence of God, as if he were not able to compass his designs, and therefore he must stretch out his hands to help him, labouring under too great a load; which is indeed the language of all those who pretending zeal for his Service, do step out of their station, and meddle with matters that are too high for them. The fate of *Uzzah* should have taught us both more Wisdom and Religion, who seeing the Ark of God make, 2 Sam. 6. 7. and considering how dismal an Omen the over-turning that sacred Repository had been, and how disgraceful and impious it would be to see those precious Symbols of the Divine Presence laid in the dust; and, not remembering that none but the Family of *Aaron* might touch those holy Mysteries, put out his hand to hold them, but was struck dead on the place. We are rather to look on and adore the hidden Traces and Methods of the Divine counsels, and patiently to wait for that Issue of things, which notwithstanding of all the disorders may at any time appear in humane affairs, the Eternal Wisdom of that Architectonical Mind will in due time bring forth, and in the mean while rest satisfied in all he does, commending things to our Prayers to him, and doing every thing that befits our condition for preserving Peace, Order and Religion, but going no farther, for the *wrath of Man doth not work out the righteousness of God*. S. Jam. 1. 20. And thus Conscience, fixing our objection on the unshaken Basis of our Faith and Confidence in God, binds us by the strongest Ties to our Duty. A

3. A third Argument Conscience offers to oblige us to be subject and quiet, is the fervent and extended Charity it possesseth us with to all Mankind, which must needs hold us from engaging in Courses that will prove destructive to a great part of it : Where we consider what the Mischiefs of Rebellion and Civil War are, what Dissolution of Government and Confusion of Justice it brings after it, how much Blood and Rapine, Oppression, Plunder and Profanation of the most sacred things, are the certain Effects of Commotions, if they be long-lived, what lover of Mankind or Person truly charitable will engage in Courses so black, whose *Catastrophe* may prove so tragical, and run far beyond what was at first designed, and produce Effects far more mischievous than those that were complained of ? How many dispeopled Cities, depopulated and burnt Villages ; what Tears of Widows and Orphans, and of Aged Persons bereft of their Children, who were the comfort and support of their Age must follow on such courses, when the Fields are covered with the Carcasses of the dead, and the Scaffolds smoak with the Blood of Innocents, and that not only with common Gore, but Royal and Sacred Blood ? A pathetick and florid Eloquence could easily manage this Theme with those Advantages, as to raise horror in all at Courses so barbarous and unchristian, which the common Sentiments of Humanity will make those of softer and relenting Tempers hate, much more the meek and peaceable Christians. And that these are not the melancholly Representations of a troubled Fancy, a little Reflection on what we have seen and known, and a penetrating Prospect into what may be before us will easily make out to all considering Minds : Therefore strong and fervent Charity to Mankind will prove a certain curb to repress new Attempts at those Disorders, the Effects whereof are not yet old, nor out of mind. And here again Conscience obliges us to be subject.

4 The last Consideration which I shall propose, by which Conscience binds us to Subjection, is the *Practice and Example of our great Master, who was made perfect through Sufferings* ; Heb. 2. 10. the whole Course of his Life was a perpetual Tract of doing good and bearing ill ; he paid the Tribute, when

when demanded, and charged the *Jews* to render to *Cæsar* the things that were *Cæsars*: St. Matth. 22: 21. And when he was to lay down his Life for us, he submitted himself patiently, not only to the Will of his Heavenly Father, but to the Civil Powers which then governed in *Judæa*: Though he, as the Heir of all things might have claimed the Empires of the World as his Right, yet since he humbled himself so as to be born in the low Character of a Subject, he in that, as in all other things, became a perfect Pattern to us of all Righteousness. When the accursed Band came out against him, though he could have brought down Legions of Angels for his Relief, yet he not only submitted himself to them, but both rejected and reproved St. Peter's too forward Zeal and told him, that *such as drew the Sword should perish by the Sword*; St. Matth. 26. 5. And when the ill guided Fervor of that great Apostle had mislead him to the excess of smiting with the Sword, our Saviour expressed his Displeasure at it, by his miraculous piecing the Ear again with the maimed Head. And when he was accused to *Pilate* of being an Enemy to *Cæsar*, and pretending to set up another Kingdom, he did in the plainest Stile was possible condemn all *Practisings* against Government upon pretence of Religion, by saying, Joh. 18. 36. *My Kingdom is not of this World; if my Kingdom were of this World, then should my Servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews, but now is my Kingdom not from hence*: This doth so expressly discharge all bussing and fighting on the pretence of Religion, that we must either set up for another Gospel, or utterly reject what is so formally condemned by the Author of this we profess to believe. And never Cause of Religion was of so great concern, as the preserving the Head and Author of it, whom with equal Mixtures of Injustice and Violence his enraged Enemies where against all colours of Equity, and contrary to Law and Religion, dragging to that Death, which, tho' it proved the happiest thing to Mankind, yet on their part who acted it, was the foulest Crime the Sun ever saw.

The blessed Apostles followed their Masters Steps in this, as in all other things; and therefore having learned of our Saviour that Lesson of bearing the Cross, and suffering patiently,



tiently, when unjustly persecuted, counted it their Glory to be conformable to him in his Sufferings ; and indeed, if we examine the Nature and Design of that holy Religion our Saviour delivered, we will find nothing more diametrically opposite to all its Rules, than the distempered Fury of these misguided Zealots, who being carryed on by the Fierceness of their ungovern'd Passions, have, upon colours of Religion, filled the World with Blood and Confusion. Otherwise does St. Paul teach the *Romans* in this Chapter, though then groaning under the severest Rigors of Bondage

1 S. Pet. 2.  
13. Ver. to  
the end,  
and 3. 14.  
15, 16, 17.  
verses.

and Tyranny ; and St. Peter doth at full length once and again call on all Christians to prepare for Sufferings, and to bear them patiently ; and though the Bondage of the Slaves was heavy and highly contrary to all the Freedoms of the human Nature, yet he exhorts them to bear the Severities, even of their froward and unjust Masters, with this Argument, *That Christ suffered for them, leaving them an Example, that they should follow his Steps.* From these unerring Practices and Precepts must all true Christians take the Measures of their Actions, and the Rules of their Life : And indeed the first Converts to Christianity embraced the Cross, and bore it not only with Patience, but Joy ; and as long as Christianity continued pure and unallayed, this Doctrine of patient suffering was not only a big and empty Boast, but gave Proofs of its Reality, by the unexempl'd Patience and Sufferings of the Christians in a Succession of Three Ages and Ten Persecutions. These blessed Witnesses of our Faith were burning and shining Lights, as well by the Purity of their Lives as by the Stakes and Flames of their Martyrdom. Nero unpall'd them, and cloathing them with Pitch-coats, made them burn as Torches in the Night ; but these Fires scattered the Darkness of that Night of Idolatry in which Rome lay buried, and both enlightned and inflamed many that lay freezing in Darkness. It was the Astonishment of the World to such Numbers of all Ages, Sexes, and Qualities, with that Alacrity and Chearfulness of Submission, to offer up their Lives for the Faith ; and neither the Cruelty of their unrelenting Persecutors, nor the continued Tract of their

their

their Miseries, which did not end but with their days, prevailed on them either to renounce the Faith, or do that which is next degree to it, throw off the Cross, and betake themselves to seditious Practices for their preservation, but continued stedfast both in their Faith and Patience, by which they inherited the Promises. Nor was Christianity endamaged by all that fury; on the contrary, the Blood of the Martyrs was the Seed of the Church, whose Field being thus sated, did spring up thirty, sixty and a hundred fold; so that for every new harvest of a Persecution, there was a plentiful crop of Christians. And there is no reason to think these blessed Martyrs endured all their Sufferings, constrained by necessity, because they could do no other; for as we find in the inspired History, that at two Sermons there were eight thousand Converts, so profane as well as Ecclesiastical Writers assure us, the Numbers of the Christians, became very soon so vast, that nothing but the Conscience of the Duty they owed the supreme Powers obliged them to be subject. *Pliny*, who lived a hundred years after our Saviour wrote to *Trajan*, That in *Pontus* and *Bithynia* there were great numbers of Christians

Lib. 10.  
Ep. 97.

of all Ranks, both in Cities and Villages, so that the Temples of their Gods, were by the prevailing Growth of Christianity, left desolate. A little after him *Marcus Aurelius* had a Legion of Christians in his Army, of whom he gives this Character in his Edict, That they carried God in their Consciences; and when there were so many in the Army, we may on a fair computation reckon their Numbers to have been very great. Not long after that does *Tertullian* plead for those in his days, in his admired Apologetic, and tells the Romans, Ch. 27. That if they would stand to their own defence, they wanted not the Strength of Numbers and Armies, that neither the Moors nor Parthians, nor any other of the Nations that fought with the Romans could match them, who filled the whole World, all their Places, Towns, Islands, Castles, Villages, Councils, Camps, Tribes, Senate and Market-places; only they abandoned their Temples to them; adding, that to what War were they not both fit and ready, even tho' they were less numerous, who were butchered so willingly, if their Discipline did not allow them rather to be killed than to kill? And elsewhere he vindicates the Christians, That none of them were ever found guilty of Conspiracies

cies against the Emperors, whom they acknowledged to be set up by God, and therefore judged themselves bound to love, reverence and honour them. But as the Christian Religion continued to spread by a vast and prodigious increase, so did the spite of the Infernal Furies grow fierce against it by the same proportion; and in the last Persecution, which continued about 20 years, we find the Martyrs of one Province (*Egypt*) reckoned to be betwixt 8 and 9000000; and yet no Tumults were raised against all this Tyranny and Injustice: And tho' after that the Emperors turned Christian, and established the Faith by Law, yet neither did the subtil Attempts of *Julian* the Apostate, nor the open Persecutions of some *Arrian* Emperors, who did with great violence prosecute the Orthodox, occasion any seditious Combinations against Authority. These are the great Precedents this holy Doctrine of the Cross hath in the first and purest Ages, and tho' Religion suffered great Decays in the succession of many Ages, yet for the first ten Centuries no Father or Doctor of the Church, nor any assembly of Churchmen, did ever teach, maintain or justify any Rebellions or seditious Doctrines or Practises.

4. And thus I have made good what I undertook to evince, that Conscience doth with the greatest evidence of Reason and Authority, bind us to an absolute Subjection to the higher Powers; and have observed what was the Path our blessed Saviour himself followed, the Traces whereof are to be known by those bloody Steps he hath left behind him for our Example and Instruction. We have also seen a glorious Cloud of Witnesses following him in the same way he both opened up and consecrated to them. But after all this, it may be perhaps objected, That all Christians, at least all Pretenders to it, have not followed the same Rule, and that some Divisions of Christendom, which in all other things run very wide from one another, yet meet in this Doctrine of resisting the supreme Authority, and not only so, but they vouch Religion for their Warrant and their Quarrel both, and pretend a Zeal for God his Church, and his Cause in all they do: This is the last part of my Discourse, to which I obliged my self in the beginning, and I will handle it with the round Plainness that such a Point how tender soever some may think it, requires. It is true about



about the end of the eleventh Century this pestiferous Doctrine took its Rise, and was first broached and vented by Pope Gregory VII. commonly called *Hildebrand*, the first Pope of that Name; though a far better Man had basely and shamefully courted the cruel and perfidious *Phocas*, and treated him in a stile of mean and sordid Flattery that misbecame any Man, much more so great a Bishop. But the Pope I now speak of went more briskly to work, and begun that insolent and bold Pretension of the Temporal Power of the Popes over all Kings and Princes; that they being Christ's Vicars on Earth, must have all Power in Heaven and Earth deputed to them, and that as *St. Peter's* Successors they had the two Swords, the Spiritual and the Temporal put in their hands. Upon this he aspired and exalted himself above those whom the Scripture calleth Gods. Nor did this rest in a bare speculation, but any that will read his Epistles, and knows the History of his Life, will see what dismal confusions he brought on *Germany* and *Italy*, and laid the Foundations of those bloody Wars which followed and continued for some Ages: Then did the Factions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibellins* divide Nations, Towns and Families, and fill all places with Blood and Confusion. How other Popes did afterwards set the same pretensions on foot, both in *France*, *England*, and in many other places, is well enough known to all that are acquainted with History; and for two or three Ages the Tyranny of this was so heavy, that any insolent Church-man was able to disturb Government, by carrying Complaints to *Rome* of some pretended Incroachments on the Ecclesiastical Immunity; upon which Monitory Breves and Bulls were dispatched from *Rome*, and every Prince was either to obey these, how much soever they might prejudice his Government, or to look for the Thunders of Excommunication, Deposition, absolving his Subjects from their Oaths of Fidelity, and the transferring his Dominions on some other more zealous Votary of that See. And any that will read the Decretals, Bulls and Breves of many of the aspiring Popes, will find that these were not only ambitious and disclaimed Practises, the guilt of which being personal, died with themselves; but they founded them on the Rights of the See of *Rome*, and in the stile of an universal Pastor imposed

posed the Belief of that on the World. Now I would presume to ask any of that Communion, if they believe these Popes were infallible in those Decisions and Instructions they imposed on the World, or not? If any say they were *infallible* in them, they are without more ceremony of Words, Traitors, who subject our Sovereign's Rights, which he derives from God only, to a foreign Superior Power: If they were not infallible in these Decisions, then what is become of the Popes' Infallibility? For the present Pope can have no more than his Predecessors had; and if they erred, he may likewise err. But I must advance this a little farther, to shew that those of that Communion, though they reject the Popes' Infallibility, yet if they submit to the Infallibility of their General Councils, are still in the same hazards of being Rebels. For the Council of *Lateran*, which in the *Roman Church* is held General and Oecumenical, that first decreed Transubstantiation, did also by the Third of its Canons decree, *That all temporal Princes should exterminate* (I shall not critically examine that word which must amount to banishment at least) *all Hereticks*; adding, *That if any Temporal Lord, being admonished by the Church, did neglect to purge his Lands, he should be first excommunicated, and if he continued in his contempt and contumacy, a years notice was to be given of it to the Pope, who thenceforth should declare his Vassals absolved from the Fidelity they owed him, and expose his Lands to be Invaded by Catholics, who might possess it without any contradiction, having exterminated the Hereticks out of it, and preserve it in the Purity of the Faith.* This is so plain, that I suppose without any hesitation it may be called a down-right Conspiracy against all Sovereign Princes; and this being decreed by a General Council, must either be Infallibly true, or the Foundation on which they have raised all their Superstructure of the Infallibility of their General Councils, is overturned.

But the same Equality of Justice and Freedom, that obliged me to lay open this, ties me to tax also those who pretend a great heat against *Rome*, and value themselves on their abhorring all the Doctrines and Practises of that Church, and yet have carried along with them one of their most pestiferous Opinions, pretending Reformation when they

they would bring all under Confusion, and vouching the Cause and Work of God, when they were destroying that Authority he had set up, and opposing those impowred by him: And the more Piety and Devotion such daring Pretenders put on, it still brings the greater stain and imputation on Religion, as if it gave a Patrociny to those Practises so plainly condemns. This is *Judas-like*, to kiss our Master when we betray him, and to own a Zeal for Religion when we engage in courses that disgrace and destroy it.

But, blessed be God, our Church hates and condemns this Doctrine from what hand soever it come, and hath established the Rights and Authority of Princes on sure and unalterable Foundations, enjoying an entire Obedience to all the lawful Commands of Authority, and an absolute Submission to that Supreme Power God hath put in our Sovereign's hands. This Doctrine we justly glory in, and if any that had their Baptism and Education in our Church have turned Renegades from this, they proved no less Enemies to the Church her self, than to the Civil Authority. So that their Apostasie leaves no blame on our Church, which glories in nothing more than in a well-tempered Reformation from the later Corruptions which the dark Ages brought in, to the pure and Primitive Doctrines which our Saviour and his Apostles taught, and the first Christians retained and practised for many Ages.

To Resume all then: Let us adorn our holy Profession with a Life suitable to it, and let us shew to the World; that we take not up, nor maintain our Religion upon Interest, but found it on sure and unmoveable Foundations, which, being the same always, will ever oblige us to the same Duties and Practises. Let us study to empty our selves of all big self-conceiting Thoughts, of all hot and inflamed Passions and Appetites, of all unruly and unbounded Desires, of all Levity and unstayedness of mind; that with humble Hearts, calm Minds, contented Spirits, and steady Thoughts, every one may follow the Duties of his Station, and contain himself within it as becomes a Christian, paying inwardly in our very thoughts that reverence we owe the Higher Powers, and offering up to God the constant Tribute of our



our Prayers for them; considering they are God's Vice-gerents, and by his own warrant are called Gods: And if the Conduct of Affairs do not suit our wishes or desires, yet for all that we are to trust to and depend on God's Providence, not daring once to think of attempting against the Lord's appointed, nor to engage in courses that may bring on so much mischief and confusion, but let us ever set before our Eyes our blessed Saviour, *Who endured the Cross and despised the Shame; who when he was reviled, reviled not again, and when he suffered, he threatened not, but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously:* And let us also consider that Cloud of Witnesses that followed him; *That so we may run with patience the race that is set before us, and not look to or imitate the later practices of some distempered and degenerated Christians.* And then we shall be an honour to our Profession, and give a credit to that Church wherein we were Born, Baptised and instructed; when we shew that we are subject, *not only for Wrath, but for Conscience sake.*

And to end as I began; Let us with astonishment and wonder, contemplate the shining glories of our most holy Faith, which tends to raise Mankind to the highest pitch of true Greatness that his limited Nature can ascend to, and as far excels all the attempts of Philosophy, or any other Religion whatsoever, as the bright Splendor of the Day doth the fainter Shinnings of the Night. For nothing can be more the Interest of all Men, than the receiving this Faith, which both secures a Man in all his Rights, and obliges all others to pay him what is due from the Relations they stand in. Does a Father desire dutiful Children, or Children an affectionate Father? Make them good Christians, and they are sure of what they desire. Do Husband and Wife expect the Fidelity and Sacred performance of the Ties of Wedlock? This must certainly follow on their being good Christians. Do Masters desire honest and careful Servants, and Servants a just and gentle Master? Make them good Christians and they will prove such. Do all Men desire to live by honest well-natured and affectionate Neighbours? Their being good Christians will certainly make them such. Do Subjects desire a good King? Let them pray that he be a good Christian, and then he shall certainly govern well; and do Kings desire good and obedient Subjects? Let them take care that they be good Christians, and then they will be Subject, *Not only for Wrath, but for Conscience sake.*

*Now to the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, be all Honour, Praise and Glory, for ever and ever. Amen.*

**THE END.**

**ADVERTISEMENT.**

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